

THE *Nation*

August 1, 1953

20¢

Bishop Oxnam

WITNESS FOR DECENCY

by Bruce Catton

Hope of Millions

SAVE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE!

by Ritchie Calder

The Dust Blows Again *Roscoe Fleming*

Coming German Elections *Terence Prittie*

Protestants and Politics *Victor Obenhaus*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

JUL 30 1953

Around



the

U. S. A.

The Dust Blows Again

Trinidad, Colo.

FLYING north from El Paso last March, our transport went as high as 18,000 feet. But we were still below the top of the vast reddish cloud that blocked half the horizon from sight—millions of tons of Texas and New Mexico earth rolling eastward on the wind. I looked in the papers in vain for news of this dust storm. Had that sort of thing become commonplace, or wasn't it "chamber of commerce" news?

Sheer complacency or a conspiracy of silence permitted the Southwestern drought to burst on the country as suddenly as news of a tornado, though for months it had been quietly building up to the grim climax. As early as May I saw scores of letters from ranchmen and country bankers literally begging for help and saying their communities were at the end of their resources.

Yet Governor Thornton of Colorado was still demanding that Uncle Sam leave Colorado to "private enterprise"—specifically that the government turn back to private ownership the many thousand acres it salvaged from ruin during the dust-bowl days of the thirties and has since kept in healing grass.

During the wheat boom of five years ago it was said that two southeastern Colorado counties had the highest per capita count of Cadillacs of any two counties in the United States. Now the new brick farm homes with their two-and-three-car garages are being abandoned and stores in the towns boarded up, in sad repetition of twenty years ago. Again the roads are blocked with six-foot dust drifts, and snow plows are being used to clear them.

The cause is the same. For from three to five years rainbearing storms have almost entirely avoided a wide region that includes all western Texas, eastern New Mexico, part of the Oklahoma Panhandle, and part of southwestern Kansas and southeastern Colorado—the same region that formed the terrible dust bowl of the thirties. None of the land has ever been fully restored; according to Soil Conservation Service studies the worst-denuded areas never get back more than two-thirds of their former productivity.

• So far this drought has not lasted so long as the other, and there is hope that the tide will turn. Also in the past twenty years people have learned a good deal about how land should be treated, though drought that continues long enough will defeat any human efforts to save it. In the thirties, moreover, drought and depression coincided, and farmers had already abandoned much of their land to the winds in disgust or despair at low prices. Another difference is that today's drought region is an enclave of disaster in a country generally well-watered and prosperous; the northern Great Plains have had more rain than usual. The bankers, however, have played their usual timid role, enforcing sales on many ranchmen who might otherwise have pulled through.

Politically, though this seems a cynical thing to say, the drought has been a boon to the new national Administration and its regional adherents. Their concern

for the farmer has been endlessly advertised through newsprint, newsreel, and TV; and disaster relief, though small in sum, has loomed large in the headlines. All this has helped to mask the fact that the Republicans seem increasingly inept and helpless in the face of the larger "farm problem." They have continued to denounce, as they did during the campaign, the present machinery for dealing with it, but like the Countess Julia in "Don Juan," swearing they never would consent, they have consented to use it in each emergency. John H. Davis, new president of the Commodity Credit Corporation, recently said in effect that the Republicans would have to postpone saving the farmer from regimentation and his own weaker nature until they had saved him from his current economic vicissitudes. Mr. Davis confidently predicted that by then the farmer would willingly surrender the life-preservers now keeping his head above water.

Emergency aid has been so puny in relation to the need that it justifies Senator Bob Kerr's crack that the Republicans are pretending to pitch hay with a table fork. Very little aid has been furnished by the states. Nor, as this is written, has Governor Thornton or his fellows proposed calling special legislative sessions to consider adequate appropriations.

ROSCOE FLEMING

[Roscoe Fleming is one of the best-known journalists in the West; he lives in Denver.]

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

BERTRAND RUSSELL The great English philosopher and educator writes a pointed essay on *The World I Want to Live In*.

HAROLD TAYLOR The president of Sarah Lawrence College deals with the challenging problem of *Freedom and Authority in Education*.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON A noted historian and biographer calls attention to the "know-nothing" attacks on modern art and artists in *The Vandals Are Among Us*.

NELSON ALGREN One of America's leading novelists discusses *The Decline of the Intellectuals*.

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

End the Tug-of-War!

The armistice and cease-fire dominate the front pages, the air waves, the minds of men. Overloaded with relief and anguish and hope, the moment must be respected. But it cannot be drawn out, for the real meaning of last Sunday's events is not in the ending of slaughter but in the issues they precipitated. With the signing of the armistice the front lost its importance and Korea took its place on the political agenda of the nations.

The General Assembly, convening on August 17, will deal indirectly with those issues. The very act of choosing the U. N. delegates to the political conference charged with working out a settlement for Korea will partly determine the agenda and results of the negotiations. The role of Communist China will come up immediately. How futile for Secretary Dulles to try to rule out in advance any discussion by the political conference of Peking's membership in the United Nations! This question, with the question of Formosa, is the most important part of the context in which Korea's future must be considered. In fact, if it were directed wisely and with vision, the political conference could become the agency for bringing to an end the massive tug-of-war that is wrenching Asia apart. It is the profound duty of the General Assembly to make sure that a majority of the representatives it chooses are capable of acting without political rancor or partisan bias. Otherwise the meeting will surely degenerate into a cold version of the Korean war.

On the Ruins of Korea

We do not minimize the difficulties that even the most disinterested U. N. delegates will face. Korea alone, ravaged and divided, its separate parts ruled by hostile dictatorial cliques, would be enough to confound their best efforts. But we are convinced that these difficulties will be reduced rather than multiplied by relating one issue to another. If a democratic and united Korea is possible at all, it can be created and maintained only if China is convinced that it will not be used as a jumping-off place for American forces bent on "liberation." And China will be hard to convince as long as Syngman Rhee is indorsed as the rightful head of all

Korea and backed by the United States. Nor will a China ruled out of the community of nations be a safe neighbor for any smaller Asian country.

This is only one illustration of the interlocking nature of the issues loosed by the armistice. Recognized and dealt with in their full complexity, they may find a solution more easily than Mr. Dulles would ever dream. For a change has obviously been taking place not only in Russia but in China. The armistice itself is a token of this. The policy of expansion by aggression has suffered a costly setback. There are signs that Peking is drawing away from its extreme dependence on Moscow. But both the United States and the United Nations must face the fact that while aggression has been defeated, communism has not been defeated. The task of the U. N. delegates will be to come to terms with communism. In other words, they must hammer out a deal, not impose a settlement. If they act with statesmanship, avoid punitive demands even while insisting on guarantees against new aggression, and end once and for all the farce of treating Chiang Kai-shek as the real ruler and eventual "liberator" of China, a peace may yet be built on the ruins of Korea.

A Bargain Means Quid Pro Quo

Reports from Europe reveal a very skeptical public reaction to the decisions taken by the three foreign ministers at Washington. In England particularly, both Labor and Liberal opinion takes the view that Lord Salisbury, too weak to stand up to the Americans, sold out Churchill's idea of a broadly conceived, informal meeting of the Big Four chiefs of state. The sharp language used by Mr. Attlee in criticizing the government in the House and the feeble defense put up by Acting Prime Minister Butler and Minister of State Lloyd revealed the depth of the disaffection created by the Washington proposal.

Nor was the mood improved by Mr. Dulles's television talk on July 17. Comment in both the British and French press reflects sharp doubt about his basic assumption—on which American policy apparently rests—that the West is rapidly gaining in strength and cohesion while with equal speed the Russian bloc is disintegrating. This theory is regarded as alarmingly unrealistic. It ignores certain solid facts, such as the failure of NATO to reach its military objectives and the ardent

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 81
Toward Fiscal Fiasco 83

ARTICLES

- The Russians at Geneva
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 85

- Witness for Decency:
Bishop Oxnham Speaks His Mind
by Bruce Catton 86

- Hope of Millions:
Save Technical Assistance!
by Ritchie Calder 87

- Coming German Elections:
Can Adenauer Stay in Power?
by Terence Prittie 89

- Protestant Social Policy:
Why Isn't It More Effective?
by Victor Obenhaus 91

BOOKS

- A Quaker Pilot by Stringfellow Barr 94
New Books in Brief 95
Greco at the Stadium by F. K. 97

- ART by S. Lane Faison, Jr. 97

- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 98

- LETTERS 99

- CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 526
by Frank W. Lewis 100

- AROUND THE U. S. A.
The Dust Blows Again
by Roscoe Fleming opposite 81

Editorial Board

- Freda Kirchwey Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo Foreign Editor

- Martin Solow Assistant to the Publisher

- Harold Churman Theater
B. H. Haggin Music
Gladys Whiteside Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting Assistant Literary Editor
Mary Simon Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatis Index.

distaste of most Europeans for the E. D. C. pact and the arming of Germany; and it encourages the notion that Moscow can be asked to surrender power in return for nothing. If Mr. Dulles were cynical in enunciating his "principles" and making his demands, Europeans would understand and make allowances. What worries them is the feeling that Mr. Dulles means what he says.

If so, then the hope of an accommodation with the Soviet Union or with China is very thin. As several recent editorials have pointed out, there is no reason to believe Russia is so weak that it will, in advance of a meeting, give up East Germany only to see a united Germany swallowed by the Western alliance. A bargain is a matter of quid pro quo and not of unconditional surrender.

The Truth About L. A.

Speaking in Los Angeles on July 15, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., our chief spokesman at the United Nations, confided to the members of Town Hall that he had been told there was "no part of the United States where there is more hostility to the U. N. than Southern California." But then he went on to say: "I have made five speeches besides this one, and not a single hostile question has been asked me. Either the people in the Los Angeles area are for the United Nations or they are very polite."

Alas! both statements are true. Most residents of Los Angeles favor the United Nations, but they are so polite, and so intimidated by the witch hunt, that they have permitted a handful of crackpots to dominate the Board of Education, drive the UNESCO program from the schools, reject a grant of \$350,000 from the Ford Foundation, and identify the name of the city in the world press as a nesting place of screwballs and bigots. By their inaction the "good people" of Los Angeles have lost the Ford Foundation, which only yesterday they welcomed with bouquets, banquets, and editorial hosannas when it established headquarters in Pasadena, and, far more serious, they have lost control of the public schools.

"The Day of the Locust"

But there is more to the noisy campaign against the United Nations in Los Angeles than meets the eye. If Mr. Lodge had occasion to interview Cardinal McIntyre before leaving for New York, he is surely aware that the opposition to UNESCO had powerful backing in Los Angeles. And if he read the editorial entitled *Skinning a Skunk* which appeared in the Los Angeles *Herald-Express* the day after his appearance at Town Hall, he knows that the press of the community is not quite so polite as its residents. The editorial savagely attacked a local radio commentator who had criticized the paper's handling of an interview with Mr. Lodge. No, by themselves the crackpots would not be troublesome. But the

day has come, as Nathanael West warned in his brilliant novel "The Day of the Locust," when the "awful, anarchic power" of the crackpots' fury has got out of hand. It is high time, as Dr. Robert M. Hutchins told Town Hall in the wake of Mr. Lodge's appearance, that the people of Los Angeles set about recapturing the schools from the crackpots, "from the small but vocal and highly organized minorities which are imposing their prejudices on the children of this city."

Obscenity Where Is Thy Sting?

Setting itself up as a guardian of public morals, the American Legion recently forced the management of the Academy Theater in Houston to announce that it was canceling a scheduled showing of Charles Chaplin's "Limelight." But the stockholders failed to appreciate the Legion's attempt to take over the management of the theater and voted to show the film despite the protest. In San Antonio the Legion's censorship campaign met with its second reversal in Texas when twenty-five civic leaders joined in a public demand that the film be shown. Local groups have been springing up in quite a few communities to challenge the Legion in this major test of its power to determine what films are to be shown in the nation's motion-picture theaters.

But there is a quicker way to lift the boycott against "Limelight." Only the other day a Legion post in Texas staged a show of such unleavened vulgarity that military authorities, noting the presence of personnel from the Ellington air base, felt compelled to intervene and, with the aid of the Houston police department, arrested the performers. Let Mr. Chaplin add a few scenes of the type for which the naughty Legionnaires have a special relish, and "Limelight" could doubtless be shown, at least in Legion posts.

A Birthday

New York's Central Park was 100 years old last week. Then-and-now pictures printed in the *New York Times* show that in spite of its surrounding fence of skyscraping apartment buildings, the park itself looks today pretty much as it did in 1863 when it was nearing completion. Roads, lakes, reservoir, woodland—the pattern is still there. This pleases us. In fact, we feel a rather proprietary interest in the lay-out of Central Park, for one of the two men who designed it, Frederick Law Olmsted, was among *The Nation's* earliest and best correspondents.

By 1865, twelve years after the park's beginning, the squatters had been evicted, politely we hope, along with the "herds of swine and stump-tail cows," and the site was already a pleasant place of recreation. And that year—which was also *The Nation's* year of birth—Mr. Olmsted set out on a long, leisurely trip through the South to report on how black people and white, struggling

through the backwash of the Civil War, lived and felt and were governed. The stories he wrote were models of honest, detailed observation and careful analysis. They are among the indispensable records of the period.

A first-rate park designer and a first-rate reporter—few men combine such rewarding talents. Having benefited so directly from the second, *The Nation* is glad to see the results of the first properly appreciated.

Toward Fiscal Fiasco

ALTHOUGH it is barely six months since Mr. Eisenhower entered the White House, one of the most appealing sections of his victory program, his promise of drastic fiscal reform, is already headed for the political ash can. The anti-inflationary-credit steps inaugurated by raising the cost of money have now been reversed by a reduction in reserve requirements that has swollen the supply of money. The balanced budget remains a receding mirage. Extension of the excess-profits tax has been won only at the cost of commitments that cannot be fulfilled without risking fiscal fiasco.

To substantiate these statements, let us look at the record. When the Administration took office, the Treasury announced radical changes in debt management. No longer would it look to the Federal Reserve to facilitate government financing by manipulating the money supply. Instead, it proposed to pay free-market rates for its borrowing and, by selling long-term securities to the public, gradually decrease the proportion of the debt represented by bank-held short-term issues. These orthodox measures for reducing credit inflation have already been abandoned. True, the Federal Reserve was prompted to raise interest rates, thereby burdening home buyers, farmers, and small borrowers generally, and adding many millions to the cost of carrying the national debt. But so far from diminishing the proportion of the debt maturing in less than one year, the Treasury has greatly increased it. Further, a few months after the Federal Reserve jacked up the price of money, it was persuaded, in the words of Paul Heffernan of the *New York Times*, "to create a money stream to carry the new Treasury debt." This contradictory policy has proved profitable for the bankers: lowered reserve requirements have given them more funds to lend at higher rates of interest. But as a way of checking credit inflation, it is strictly from "Alice Through the Looking Glass."

How about economy? The Administration and Congress have vied in slashing Mr. Truman's last budget and claim to have reduced it by approximately \$10 billion, chiefly by cuts in defense and foreign aid. This is an impressive figure on paper, but actual realization of the savings remains dependent on an improvement,

or at least no further deterioration, in the international scene. Moreover, there is reason to suppose that part of the reduction in foreign aid will be offset by new appropriations to support farm prices as dollar-short allied nations cut down their purchases of our agricultural products. Even now the government has almost \$3¼ billion tied up in the price-support program, more than twice as much as a year ago. In fact, these increased expenditures, plus higher debt charges, threaten to swallow much of the savings in other civilian services.

On the revenue side, the Treasury has to take into account an alarming fall in collections in the final quarter of fiscal 1953. Various explanations are being offered for this disconcerting trend, the most significant feature of which is that the fall was entirely in corporation and individual income taxes, other than those collected by pay-roll deductions. To the *Journal of Commerce* this is clear proof that "excessively high tax rates" are producing diminishing returns. But it is difficult to square this theory with the 5¼ per cent increase in national income achieved in 1952. More probably the slump in tax receipts from corporations and wealthy individuals is connected with the new methods of legal tax avoidance provided by Congress in the last two years.

Continuation of this trend, which would be accentuated if the recession forecast by many financial experts develops, could badly upset the current budget. This may explain the gloomy views of Senator Byrd, who in a memorandum released on July 17 said he expected the deficit for the fiscal year that opened July 1 to reach \$10 billion and added that the outlook for fiscal 1955 was as bad "and maybe worse." Moreover, his estimate left out of account the prospective revenue loss from the expiration of the excess-profits tax and the various tax cuts due under present laws next year.

The Administration won its fight to retain E. P. T. only by promising not to ask for any further extension. But if E. P. T. disappears at the end of the year, Congress will almost certainly insist that the 10 per cent hike in income tax imposed in 1951 must also be removed on the scheduled date—December 31. Nor will it be easy to cancel the 10 per cent reduction in corporate income tax and the various cuts in excises due to take effect next April 1. While all these tax modifications will cost only about \$1 billion in the current fiscal year, they will trim no less than \$8 billion from 1954-55 revenues.

This is not all. President Eisenhower has promised an overhaul of the entire tax structure so as to "eliminate inequities and create jobs and expand income of the mass of the people." The Treasury has set its experts the task of finding ways and means to implement this pledge, but so far has been very cagy about their progress. However, it is known that leading business associations are pressing for the following reforms: (1) revised depreciation rules allowing more rapid writing off of new investments;

(2) a first step toward the ending of "double taxation" of dividends by giving a tax credit of 10 per cent of dividends received; (3) the raising of corporation surtax exemption from \$25,000 to \$35,000; (4) a reduction in the capital-gains tax from 26 per cent to 16 per cent.

The cost of meeting these demands is estimated to be at least \$2,350 million. Adding this sum to the prospective loss of \$8 billion mentioned above, and accepting Senator Byrd's estimate of a \$10-billion deficit on the basis of present taxes, it becomes clear that in order to balance the budget in 1954-55 it will be necessary either to slash expenditure by some \$20 billion or to impose new taxation to this amount.

HOW is this dilemma to be met? Business spokesmen appear to believe that if the total burden cannot be reduced, at least its incidence can be shifted; with this end in view a propaganda campaign for the imposition of a general sales tax has been launched. It still lacks the Administration's formal blessing, but Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey admits that the feasibility of such a tax is being studied.

It is hardly necessary at this time to reargue the case against a sales tax. Everyone knows that it is highly regressive, bearing far more heavily on small incomes than on large. Even the *Journal of Commerce*, one of its most outspoken advocates, admits that it would tend to check consumption.

As a method of fiscal salvation the sales tax is a palpable fraud. For unless the rate were fixed at much more than 10 per cent, it would not compensate for a 10 per cent cut in individual income tax alone. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, a 10 per cent sales tax that absorbed all present consumer levies except those on tobacco and liquor would yield but \$2 billion more than the Treasury now collects from selective excises. It is doubtful that Congress, for the sake of so relatively small a sum, would face the certain public uproar.

Clearly, in constructing his budget for 1954-55, a task on which work must begin immediately, the President faces some unenviable choices. He can cut defense spending way below what he considers the safe limit; he can ask Congress for a large increase in taxes; or he can continue deficit financing. We sympathize with him, but at the same time it is necessary to point out that he and his advisers are culpable for making promises that at the time they were made were obviously impossible to fulfil. Last year's G.O.P. campaign gave voters the impression that fiscal troubles were largely due to the extravagance and corruption of the Truman Administration. The Republicans, we were told, had the know-how for cutting spending and taxes and running a cold war on the cheap. Now it is becoming clear to the disillusioned voters that they no more possess that secret than did the Democrats.

The Russians at Geneva

Geneva
UNDER the able chairmanship of the Belgian, Raymond Scheyven, this sixteenth session of the U. N. Economic and Social Council has been handling a most varied list of subjects; I shall discuss some of them in later articles. But at a moment like this, with the excitement created by events in East Germany, the fall of Beria, and the proposal of a Big Four foreign ministers' meeting, it is inevitable that the political aspect of the session should overshadow the economic. It provides a mirror of the entire world situation, with the Westerners scrutinizing each word and gesture of the Soviet delegates for clues as to whether or not the policy of conciliation is likely to continue, and with the Russians testing at every point the solidity of the Atlantic bloc.

If one compares the proceedings here with the foreign ministers' conference in Washington the similarity is striking. In Washington Mr. Dulles must have told himself that by yielding to the British-French desire for a meeting with Mr. Molotov he was really not risking anything since negotiations with the Russians would surely prove a failure and he could capitalize on that failure by obliging the reluctant Europeans to hurry up with the ratification of the European Defense Community treaty. Just so here: while the Americans would obviously prefer not to have to talk about East-West trade, they see no harm in adopting a rather tolerant tone since they are convinced that the Russians are bluffing and that when the showdown comes their bluff will be exposed and the Western allies will rally to the American position. As Beuve-Méry observed in one of his sharp unsigned editorials in *Le Monde*, "since the death of Stalin infallibility has changed camps"; it now speaks with an American accent.

Externally the Allied front appears as solid here as in Washington, but a little probing reveals the hollowness underneath. To discover this, one need only recall the "Consultations of April."

In April of this year Gunnar Myrdal,

able executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe, realized that the psychological time had come to change the trend in East-West trade relations. Although America still regarded any talk of "trading with the enemy" as near-treason, the "consultations" sponsored by Mr. Myrdal became one of the most successful undertakings of the United Nations. Concrete and important trade proposals were put forward. The idea that the Russians were only thinking of obtaining the strategic goods needed for an eventual attack on the free world was proved baseless. They even offered to *sell* some commodities, such as oil and tungsten, that appear on Western embargo lists. At the same time, as importers, they displayed a marked interest in non-strategic raw materials from colonial territories, such as coffee, cocoa, and copra. The Communist countries as a whole showed a desire to import consumer goods. The period of generalities was over. The Greek and Hungarian governments, which do not even maintain normal diplomatic relations, made a deal through their respective Chambers of Commerce amounting to about \$350,000.

SINCE APRIL the interest of the West in the Eastern European and Asian markets has steadily increased. Orders for \$18,000,000 worth of British chemicals and engineering and electrical goods were placed last month by the Chinese Communists with a group of British business men visiting Peking. As soon as peace comes in Korea a much larger volume of business between the two countries is assured. Meanwhile bilateral trade pacts have been signed by Russia with Greece, Denmark, the Netherlands, and France. Others are in the offing, including a deal of large proportions with Britain. The recent pact with Argentina, setting a record for Soviet trade in South America, has aroused much interest here among the Latin American delegates. In the case of Argentina, Moscow for the first time offered credits—amounting to about

\$30,000,000—to a country outside the Communist bloc.

The obvious desire of the Western nations to do business with Communist countries has been heightened by two major policies crystallizing in Washington. One was embodied in the abrupt warning that no more dollar aid could be expected by Europe after 1953. The other is the certainty of tighter tariff restrictions against competitive European products.

Where, then, is Europe to find the markets it must have in order to develop an independent economic and political life? The answer has been provided here by Mr. Arutiunian, Soviet delegate, who has been busy selling the idea of unrestricted East-West trade.

The American delegation has tried to counter his very effective propaganda by proposing a United Nations world development fund "with savings which might be achieved through internationally supervised disarmament." The Indian delegate politely welcomed the new American proposal, recalling with gratitude the wheat loan to India voted by Congress, but his tactful language failed to conceal the hope that funds for development might become available before American plans for disarmament were finally carried out. He also praised the Soviet delegates for indorsing technical assistance and promising for the first time to contribute. On this point, too, the Russians in Geneva seemed to be answering affirmatively the question whether or not the Kremlin would continue its mood of conciliation. From the Western standpoint it was unfortunate that Moscow's gesture of cooperation should have been followed immediately by word that Congress was cutting the American contribution to the technical-assistance program to some \$5,000,000. For the United States to make this crippling reduction while talking about diverting future, quite problematical savings on armaments to a still non-existent development fund would seem to be giving the play away to Moscow.

August 1, 1953

WITNESS FOR DECENCY

Bishop Oxnam Speaks His Mind...by Bruce Catton

Washington

PERHAPS some kind of corner has been turned at last. Not only was the House Committee on Un-American Activities forced to eat its words in the matter of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; it got laughed at to boot, with the mikes switched on, the cameras whirring, and the press tables jammed.

Bishop Oxnam had looked like such fair game, too. As a liberal bishop he was almost *ex officio*—and this point is basic—a sponsor for many groups organized to support worthy causes. He has fought for civil rights and freedom of conscience for many years, speaking and writing without fear. Such activities make a man a sitting duck for the witch-hunters.

But G. Bromley Oxnam turned out to be different. He not only fought back, but he fought with rare skill. He forced the committee to give him a hearing, and then he dominated all ten hours of it. In the end the committee had to report, lamely but unanimously, that it had "no record of any Communist party membership or affiliation by Bishop Oxnam." Since its members had for a long time been giving the country to understand that it did have just such a record, this backdown represents a substantial victory for human decency.

It would be easy to rejoice too much. Even Bishop Oxnam could not have won this fight if he had not been—to be blunt about it—a good deal smarter than all his inquisitors put together. The next victim, if he is less gifted, is likely to go down the chute in the familiar way. Nevertheless, there has been a net gain. A certain flaw has been revealed in the classic technique for destroying a liberal: he has *belonged* to things, he once *knew* somebody, he wrote and talked as he pleased; and if one false charge doesn't hurt him, let's see the poor sucker wash out the stain that ten false charges will leave.

BRUCE CATTON is *The Nation's* Washington correspondent.



Bishop Oxnam

In effect, Bishop Oxnam was getting his day in court. The committee had never, as Chairman Velde kept unctuously repeating, formally accused him of anything. It had simply let the wide world know that its famous files contained material linking him firmly to the Communists. It had circulated some of that material, and the Bishop had come in for the purpose of clearing up those files. He read a prepared statement avowing the faith that was in him and cited specific material in the files that he wanted to see corrected. Then he awaited the committee's questions.

Robert L. Kunzig, the committee counsel, was ready with lots of questions. They referred, however, not to the already published material Bishop Oxnam was complaining about, but to brand-new allegations which he had not previously known about. The committee's files contained more things than anyone had dreamed of, and all of them would go into the record before the Bishop got a chance to deal with the original complaints.

The new material was mostly newspaper clippings, letter-heads, printed programs, and the like naming G. Bromley Oxnam as a man who had sponsored or aided or addressed this, that, or the other left-wing group. It

was pretty thin stuff, but the way the committee used it was frightening.

This was the technique. A letter-head listing the Bishop as sponsor of some bygone association would be presented. The Bishop would take oath that his name had been used without his knowledge or consent, and that he had at no time had any connection with the group in question. In some cases he was able to offer documentary evidence.

That, one would suppose, would be that. But it never was. Instead, the committee would proceed precisely as if the Bishop had admitted a connection instead of denied it. He would be quizzed closely as to whether he knew, then or later, that the organization had been dominated by Communists. It was not hard to see what kind of case the committee was thus building up. The final, printed record would show how the Bishop had been examined closely about any number of Communist-front organizations. The fact that he had not belonged to any of them would be submerged under the mass of printed material. The interrogation itself would be distorted into something resembling evidence against the man interrogated.

The Bishop caught on to this as soon as anyone, and he spoke up about it over and over, thereby quite ruining the effect, for now the printed record would carry its own built-in warning signals, and nobody could be misled.

IN A COMMITTEE operating like this nothing should be surprising. Consider, however, what went on in connection with a magazine called the *Protestant Digest*, with which Bishop Oxnam was dimly connected, as an editorial adviser who was never called on for any advice, between the spring of 1940 and the fall of 1942. Committee counsel Kunzig took him through the questioning, and the Bishop explained why he had consented to take such a post: he felt that there could be a place for a Protestant magazine similar to the *Catholic Digest*, which he considered excellent. Then

Kunzig asked him if he was aware that the ineffable Budenz had recently testified that the Communists had really controlled the *Protestant Digest* and that their one great desire had been to use it to stir up anti-Catholic feeling?

That kind of question, of course, can be a killer, and the mere fact that it has been asked stands as an accusation unless it is met head-on. Bishop Oxnham met it so. He explained that during his brief connection with the magazine he had seen no sign of any such aim as Budenz had alleged. Then he went on, with some heat and a good deal of eloquence, to restate his faith as a Christian, to decry religious bigotry, to cite the efforts he had made to combat bigotry, and to express the hope that friendship and cooperation between Protestant and Catholic would become stronger year by year—at which point he was sternly and virtuously rebuked by Chairman Velde for raising the anti-Catholic issue!

The Bishop, a little stunned, suspected that somebody was not hearing things correctly, and he pointed out that it was the committee counsel, not the witness, who had raised the question of anti-Catholicism. Again Velde rebuked him, told him the counsel was simply inquiring into subversive activities, and

repeated that the committee did not care to go into the religious issue at all.

Then there was the business of the Bishop's service, in 1935, on the national council of the Committee on Militarism in Education. Asked about that, he said that he had indeed served on the committee, that he opposed militarism in education, that he stood by what he had done, and what about it anyhow—the committee had never been cited by anyone as subversive. No, committee counsel agreed, it had not, but it had helped to call an anti-war meeting back in 1933, and in 1925 and 1926 it had received \$10,000 from the Garland fund, later named as subversive.

None of this would be worth reciting except that the treatment Bishop Oxnham got was a fair sample of what anybody in a similar position is likely to get.

The "evidence" apparently did not impress even the committee members, and they fell back on despairing and unavailing efforts to make the Bishop at least admit that he had been unwise in lending his name to different causes, some of which later turned out to be under Communist control.

Perhaps the biggest pitfall in the Bishop's path lay right there. One admission of that kind would have been enough. The committee then could have

branded him as a self-confessed dupe and everything else would have gone by the board. But the Bishop never fell for it. Instead, every time the question was raised he turned the tables by insisting that the real issue was the way the committee had lent *its* name to damaging and unsubstantiated charges against his reputation. He refused to apologize for anything he had done. In the end he came as close as any reasonable man could hope to come to making the committee apologize.

As a good Methodist, Bishop Oxnham has probably many times beheld grievous backsliding, with souls supposedly reclaimed getting lost afresh, and if there has been a temporary reform in the Committee on Un-American Activities there may well be backsliding in the near future. But part of the gain is permanent. We are all a little better off because one fearless man in the witness chair was able to rebuke the committee counsel for his tactics, and without drawing the slightest retort was able to wag his finger at the membership in all its awesome majesty and say firmly, "That's not quite the way we do things in this country."

No matter what happens afterward, Mr. Velde and his merry men are never going to look the same.

HOPE OF MILLIONS

Save Technical Assistance! . . . by Ritchie Calder

London
THERE was an old Afghan saying: "If you choose to die go to Kundus." And it was true, for when Genghis Khan, 850 years ago, invaded the lands between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus

ITCHIE CALDER, science editor of the *London News-Chronicle*, is chairman of the Association of British Science Writers. He served as special adviser to Lord Boyd Orr, first director general of the Food and Agriculture Organization, at the famine conference of 1946 and was sent by the U. N.'s specialized agencies to Southeast Asia to report on their projects there.

River he destroyed a canal civilization and after the collapse of the irrigation system left as a permanent garrison the *anopheles superpictus*, carrier of malaria. Repeatedly, through the centuries, attempts were made to resettle the lands around Kundus; whole tribes were forced to migrate there. They did not choose, but they died just the same.

Three years ago a World Health Organization team led by an Indian malariologist went to Kundus. In two years malaria was under control and the region was liberated from the curse of Genghis Khan. The saying now is, "If you choose to prosper, go to Kundus." Food acres have been opened up. Oil has

been discovered—by United Nations experts. Vast cotton tracts are under cultivation. A big cotton mill at Pul-i-Kumri, the first modern industry in Afghanistan, has been staffed by immigrants, and bales of raw cotton are being exported across the Khyber Pass.

But that is not the whole story. About the time the W. H. O. was invited into the country, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization was asked to send a mission to help an agriculture still as primitive as it was in the days of the Patriarchs, to save the herds riddled with rinderpest, and above all to save the karakul lambs whose pelts were Afghanistan's only dollar-

August 1, 1953

87



earning export. Nearly half the flocks died every year, some from disease, more from lack of winter fodder.

Perhaps the Afghans expected some spectacular project. Instead, under United Nations Technical Assistance, they received a team of scythes. The Afghans' method of mowing was to sit on the ground and hack the grain or grass with a rude sickle. A Swiss expert accompanied by two assistants from the Austrian Tyrol, with a jeep and tools supplied by the Austrian government, went into the mountains and showed how forage could be cut and gathered on the high pastures. The use of scythes, hoes, forks, and hay-rakes was introduced, tools previously unknown but which native blacksmiths could make.

Such simple measures, coupled with veterinary advice and equipment for making vaccines, salvaged the herds and flocks. Malaria control also helped, for the victory of D.D.T. over *superpictus* meant opening up a cotton belt, and cotton meant oil-cake and winter feed.

When I was there, the United Nations teams included experts from Haiti, Finland, Burma, India, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, France, Britain, and the United States. They were edging Afghanistan into the twentieth century with projects covering much more than malaria control and agricultural and industrial development. Breaking through the barriers of *purdab* which had kept the women cut off from medical treatment and from education, they introduced mother-and-child health measures and conducted anti-illiteracy classes in which I found bearded tribes-

men, each with his three or four wives, learning their Pushtu ABC. They also offered technical training in preparation for the new industries which will emerge from the hydroelectric schemes.

HELP IS BEING given by the United Nations to more than seventy underdeveloped countries. Technicians are drawn from more than sixty countries, including some that are being helped, since "underdevelopment" is a matter of degree. Haiti needs aid, but in return it can lend a sanitary engineer to Afghanistan and a coffee expert to Ethiopia. India borrows heavily from the technical experience of the West, but it can send out able malariologists. Indonesia has immense problems, but its age-old experience with fish-farming and its breeding of that remarkable fish, the tilapia, can be passed on to Israel, the Caribbean area, Africa, and other protein-deficient countries.

In a Buddhist monastery in Siam I met a psychiatrist from Vancouver; among the Dyaks of Borneo, a nurse from Plymouth. I found a Chinese-born, Johns Hopkins-trained woman doctor fighting that horrible disease, yaws, in the mountains of Java; a Middle Western soil conservationist digging a pit in the Sind Desert to teach the Pakistanis the nature of the arid land they are about to irrigate; a Greek physician riding an elephant through the tiger jungle of the Himalayan *terai*, to free a million and a half acres of fertile land from the domination of the malaria mosquitoes; and a Danish nurse, petite and red-headed, with a big-game rifle in one hand and a midwife's bag in the other, winning the confidence of the truculent tribes of the Jeypore Hills.

This is true international enterprise, a genuine copartnership, without strings, without interference. It is aimed at development not exploitation; it shows people how to improve their own way of life and does not attempt to impose a prefabricated one. U. N. Technical Assistance experts go in to advise and teach. They select from the nationals persons who can be integrated into the teams and who, when a project is completed, will have the qualifications to extend the experience they have gained. This is "help toward self-help."

The dividends are enormous. Millions have already been freed from

malaria in the process of showing how millions more can be freed. Hundreds of thousands are the beneficiaries of agricultural pilot schemes which are the proof that multi-millions can likewise be fed. The lamp of literacy is just a glimmer, but it could be an arc-light. People are being given better houses, higher skills, sounder government.

More important than material improvements, perhaps, is the effect on the people's outlook. Furnished help and encouragement, they do not need to be coaxed to better their conditions. Never as long as I live will I forget the sight of the Javanese villagers, liberated from yaws, chiseling through volcanic rock with hand tools to make an irrigation canal along a mountain ridge so that they could have rice to eat instead of cassava and plantains. Farmers' clubs and schools for adults have been organized under the urge to get better food and education.

LITTLE IS HEARD about the work of the U. N. Technical Assistance Administration. The reverberations of the war in Korea and the table-thumping in the General Assembly have drowned the hammering of the technicians who are building the Ark of the New Covenant; have drowned, too, the sound of death-watch beetles which have already got into the woodwork. For this sanest and noblest enterprise of the United Nations, the true expression of Truman's Point Four, is being cynically undermined. In the coming year, to continue the work in hand and to start new projects which have been judged sound and necessary, the Technical Assistance Board needs at least \$37,700,000. It will be lucky if it gets the \$25,000,000 it was promised for this year. Britain has cut back its original contribution from \$2,100,000 to \$1,400,000—but at least it has paid up. The United States still owes \$4,500,-



000 of the amount it pledged, something over \$12,000,000 [A severe cut made by the House in the United States appropriation has been eliminated by the Senate, which has affirmed an allocation of \$4,500,000 in new funds.—THE EDITORS.] The Soviet Union, on the other hand, offered on July 15 to contribute 4,000,000 rubles, or about \$1,000,000, and Poland has given approximately \$75,000. This is the first time the Soviet Union has offered to contribute to any of the U. N.'s specialized agencies.

If the total sum should be considerably less than what was promised, as now seems likely, it will be impossible for the board to carry forward an expanded program and the available funds will simply be allocated to pending projects.

Indeed, since the original amount promised has already been committed, there is a likelihood that the necessary retrenchments next year will mean cutting out 70 per cent of the projects on which the agency is now engaged. Meanwhile, the board is trying desperately to persuade the paymaster nations to increase their pledges for next year.

If the increases have not been obtained by November, the work of the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Office, and UNESCO, as well as of the Technical Assistance Administration, will slow down to a creep if not to a standstill. Just when people were beginning to see results and to believe that the technically advanced countries were prepared to give

disinterested help, projects will have to be abandoned and experts withdrawn. Incalculable harm will be done to the prestige of the United Nations.

This is what comes of planning on the basis of yearly appropriations, subject to the whim of governments. Projects of this kind cannot be successfully launched, let alone completed, within a year. Experts have to be recruited and, more important, have to adjust their minds and their experience to the conditions in which they will work. At the end of a year they are just settling in. Five-year commitments are needed.

When I came back from a tour of inquiry into the operations of Technical Assistance in Southeastern Asia, I called it a "Journey into Hope." That hope can turn to despair.

COMING GERMAN ELECTIONS

Can Adenauer Stay in Power? .. by Terence Prittie

Bonn

SOMETIME in the early fall, probably in the first week of September, the people of the Federal German Republic will go to the polls to elect a new Parliament. This will be the second general election since the war, the first since Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was elected for a four-year term in 1949.

The political picture has changed little in this period. The same principal parties will be in the field, with the important addition of the refugee "All-German Bloc" led by Waldemar Kraft. As before, the Christian Democrats have the chance of finding allies farther to the right, while the Social Democrats can look for friends only in the small Center Party and, possibly, the All-German Bloc. As in 1949 the odds are that the new German government will be based on the Christian Democrats, the Free Democrats, and the German Party. Dr. Adenauer's successes have been sufficient to cancel out the "swing against the

government" which takes place in most European countries.

In 1949 some seven million votes, roughly 28 per cent of those cast, went to right-wing parties or right-wing independents. Of these, nearly three million went to the Free Democrats, who have since been Dr. Adenauer's most important coalition ally. But another seven and a half million Germans failed to vote at all. Some of them, no doubt, would have been "non-voters" in any country, but perhaps four million of them were politically inconsolable if disillusioned ex-Nazis who found no party to their liking. There are, in fact, about fifteen million potential voters who "look farther right" than Dr. Adenauer's own Christian Democratic Union. Any party which could formulate an attractive "nationalist" program and thereby gain the support of a majority of these voters would be the most powerful single force in German politics. The Christian Democrats polled only a little more than seven million votes in 1949 and the Social Democrats about 400,000 less.

Four major contestants for this right-wing vote, apart from the extremist

parties of the lunatic fringe of German politics, are in the field. One, the Bavarian Party, is obviously limited to a single *Land*. Though it polled close to one million votes in 1949 and obtained seventeen seats in Parliament, it has achieved little at Bonn. Its plan to make Bavaria the senior partner in the German federation is unfashionable and unattainable, and its influence is declining. The German Party, another contestant, received somewhat fewer votes than the Bavarian Party in 1949 and won the same number of seats in Parliament. With its strength concentrated in Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein it has resorted to strange shifts in order to whip up support in other parts of the country. In Hesse it has allied itself with right-wing extremists; in Bavaria it has been friendly with the non-political but nevertheless active Monarchists; in the Rhineland it has intrigued with the leaders of the "Naumann group," who were arrested by the British authorities some months ago for plotting to overthrow the democratic German state. Unable to weld these heterogeneous elements into an effective front, the German Party is

TERENCE PRITTIE, well-known British journalist, is now the Manchester Guardian's correspondent at Bonn.

August 1, 1953

unlikely to increase either its vote or its representation in Parliament.

The other two, the Free Democrats and the refugee All-German Bloc, seem about equally matched in their bid for the "floating" right-wing vote. In 1949 the Free Democrats obtained 52 of the 402 seats in the lower house. Since then they have everywhere been gaining strength, and nowhere more than in Protestant North Germany, which has begun to react against the Catholic capital of Bonn and the idea of a Catholic Bonn-Paris-Rome axis as planned by Dr. Adenauer. The refugee party did not exist in 1949, but it has shown its strength in subsequent provincial and local elections. Thus in 1951 it got 15 per cent of the votes cast in the Lower Saxony elections, and in 1950, in refugee-ridden Schleswig-Holstein, 25 per cent. On this basis it can hope this year to get over 10 per cent of all votes cast and between forty and fifty seats in Parliament.

THE FREE DEMOCRATS are backed by big business and have the best subscription list of all the parties. The All-German Bloc is the party of the *sans-culottes*—the "have-nots"; in no way interested in state control of industry and agriculture, it is asking for a vigorous national effort to integrate the refugees in the republic. Starting from somewhat different premises, both parties advocate free enterprise, expansion of the German economy, and a "strong" foreign policy. Both are ready to venture into the political jungles to find the buried treasure of the ex-Nazi vote.

Waldemar Kraft chose some curious people as his party's candidates in the recent local elections in Lower Saxony, among them the notorious ex-Storm Troop leader, Schepmann. Kraft negotiated personally, moreover, with Herr Zimmermann, who was arrested by the German authorities for complicity in the Naumann plot. Party leaders have also negotiated with members of the reactionary Deutsche Gemeinschaft of August Hausleiter and have sounded out former generals of the Waffen S. S. and other prominent ex-Nazis. Kraft was himself a member of the S. S. and a responsible official under the Nazi regime in Poland. He declares that his party will receive any ex-Nazi who is prepared to accept the framework of a democratic state but will have nothing to do with

unrepentant ex-Nazis. The party campaigns for the recovery of the lost eastern provinces. Its desires in this respect are not exceptional in present-day Germany, nor unintelligible. The German government seeks the same goal, though of course by peaceful means. Supported as it is almost solely by the votes of the tough East German refugees, the All-German Bloc is hardly a healthy growth in the body politic. The imprisoned plotter, Werner Naumann, believed that the party might in the long run prove his surest stepping-stone to power. Since its membership, unlike that of the other right-wing parties, is a cross-section of all classes of society, it has the possibility of developing that mass appeal and political dynamism which Germans have found so overwhelmingly attractive in the past.

The Free Democratic Party is different in being officially "liberal"; indeed, two of its provincial branches—in Hamburg and Baden-Württemberg—have drawn up genuinely liberal programs for the coming election. But 70 per cent of the party funds are supplied by the industrial and banking interests of the Ruhr, and the initiative in framing party policy has come almost exclusively from the powerful North Rhine-Westphalia branch, which is controlled by Dr. Friedrich Middelhaue and his friends. These men frankly admit that they are conservative, and their aim is apparently to turn the party into the equivalent of the old German Nationalist Party which helped Hitler to power. The liberals of the party, backed by Federal Vice-Chancellor Blücher and the Parliamentary contingent, are opposing Middelhaue's so-called "German program," which demands "strong" government, the progressive break-down of the federal structure of the state, a "national" foreign policy, the freeing of war crimi-

nals, and the end of all "discrimination" against former Nazis.

Middelhaue maintains that with this program the Free Democrats could capture seven million right-wing votes in September and become the most powerful party in Germany. But he has gone farther and personally treated not only with former Nazis and militarists but with leaders of the many crackpot right-wing groups which have begun to realize that they can achieve nothing on their own in the coming election. What is worse, the North Rhine-Westphalia branch intrigued with Naumann and his followers, who planned to infiltrate the party and then seize control.

Discovery of this fact led to a minor purge. Five members of the provincial branch were dismissed, and the names of a number of unrepentant ex-Nazis were struck from the list of proposed candidates. Vice-Chancellor Blücher and Minister of Justice Dehler have publicly expressed disgust at the activities of the Naumann group and urged a clean-up.

A serious crisis among the Free Democrats could prevent the return to power of the Adenauer coalition, which has done so much to restore prosperity in Germany. This is not to say that the rise to power of, say, a Social Democratic-Center Party-All-German Bloc coalition would be a tragedy for Germany. But it would certainly hold up plans for Germany's integration in Western Europe and could slow its economic recovery. The Social Democrats, in opposition, have shown little of the drive and talent needed for government.

TWO TOTALLY "outside" factors may have an oblique effect on the chances of the Social Democrats in the election. The first is the East German revolution of June 17, with subsequent events in the Soviet zone. The Social Democrats have always preached that Germany must be reunified prior to the integration of the federal republic in Western Europe. The right-wing parties have generally backed Dr. Adenauer's demand for swift integration, German rearmament, the building up of Western strength, and then "treating with the Russians from a position of strength."

The phrase is Adenauer's own, and it sounds impressive even though no one has explained just how this is to be done. But the East German revolution



may have convinced many West Germans that the situation is too desperate for this step-by-step process. Strong arguments will be advanced during the election campaign in favor of early four-power talks on Germany and the suspension of European planning until every avenue leading to German reunification before German rearmament has been explored.

The second outside factor is the policy of the Western powers, in particular of America. Germans have become increasingly aware of the sad lack of flexibility of Western foreign policy. Although, unlike the French and Italians, they are not at this stage of history averse to discreet patronage, they may find the overt American insistence that Dr. Adenauer's coalition government be re-

turned to power a trifle too pronounced. The Social Democrats complain that Western statesmen and the Western press openly admit the aim of "strengthening Adenauer's hand." They will emphasize this in the election campaign, but the German electorate may react less positively than would an electorate in a country with a longer tradition of political freedom and civic courage.

PROTESTANT SOCIAL POLICY

Why Isn't It More Effective? .. by Victor Obenhaus

[Congressional inquiries having thrown a spotlight on the Protestant clergy, The Nation is presenting three articles on Protestant social policy. Dr. Obenhaus, who contributes the second, is a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago Theological Seminary and a trustee of Oberlin College, and holds important posts in many church organizations. He is the author of "Hebrew Prophets and America's Conscience."]

A GROWING company of Protestant organizations have been developing and expounding social policy. Considering the emphasis placed on this phase of church life—it has even received the attention of Congressional committees!—one might assume that many Protestant church members were engaged in implementing such a policy. On the contrary, in some of the denominations historically most concerned there is today vigorous opposition to it. Though much has been accomplished interdenominationally through the National Council of Churches and its predecessor the Federal Council of Churches, the results have been less than might have been expected.

In the higher echelons of each denomination there has been considerable activity in behalf of social movements and causes. These leaders make up no small part of the departments and boards of the National Council of Churches and in that capacity have done effective work. But even in these agencies resistance is appearing to some of the goals of the

more social-minded department heads. To trace the relationship between this resistance and reactionary movements in the various denominations would not be difficult. It adds up to a checkmating of Protestant social activity. What accounts for this ineffectiveness, at least in comparison with the numerical strength of Protestantism and the record of its interest in social issues?

The roots of the present situation are found in the trends that became evident during the period of America's most rapid industrialization. In a popular sense those roots came to flower in a book reputed to have sold more copies than any other except the Bible—Charles M. Sheldon's "In His Steps," the imaginary account of one man's attempt to conduct his business as he believed Jesus would require. It was thought that such practice, in addition to conforming with Biblical injunctions, would prove to be good business. Ministers and laymen alike became evangelists for the new solution to social problems. Interest in Bible study mounted; "higher criticism" became popular. Thousands of ministers and laymen were fired with enthusiasm for the Bible's relevance to the contemporary scene.

Protestant social policy was strongly colored by such convictions. This must be kept in mind because it explains some of the later reactions to constructive social measures on the part of both ministers and laymen.

The emphasis on social progress in the period before and during World

War I was given further encouragement by the Russian experiment. Many Protestant leaders visited Russia in the early stages of what was expected to be a great humanitarian venture. The Kingdom of Jesus seemed closer. Then came Hitler. It was in the country where they knew most about Biblical scholarship that Hitler set up his dictatorship. And it was in the section of America most zealous for the Bible that human rights were most flagrantly violated. Gradually it became apparent that social policy must be based on more than familiarity with conventional religion.

Meanwhile most major denominations had been establishing departments of social relations and education. Resolutions and pleas for justice were acted upon in national assemblies. War was wrong. It was something specific and could be outlawed. Greed was fostered by the profit system; so greed must be tamed by condemnation of profits. Drinking produced misery—liquor must go. In America slavery had been abolished, but pious white Baptists barred pious colored Baptists from decent living and the ballot box.

Religion for most Protestants was primarily a matter of good personal morals and maintaining the established order. Understanding of the interrelatedness of human life in society, so vividly portrayed in Biblical history, was still to be "discovered" by social psychologists. A few leaders understood, but they were voices in the wilderness. Most church people preferred their easy prejudices.

We now know that the collapse of 1929 shocked more than the economy. It uprooted deeply imbedded patterns of society. Even farmers were on relief. Formulas for success based on the



Herblock in the Washington Post

"Quick, Men, Get That Bible Off the Shelves!"

Golden Rule proved ineffective. Religious leadership in all but a few isolated instances still lacked comprehension of the underlying causes and the inter-relatedness of society's problems.

World War II jarred some religious leaders into a new awareness of the problem of evil. It showed to many ministers as well as laymen how closely knit world economics was with politics. But the emphasis of most church practice was still highly personal, inuring its adherents against more inclusive interpretations.

During the great depression the literature of denominational commissions expressed misgivings about capitalism and the attempts to curtail government authority. Who could challenge this? A new wave of interest in humanitarian action took the form of a determination to use government to accomplish what personal charity was incapable of doing. Not a few seminary graduates went into political and social movements instead of the ministry. Others of that period are now the leaders of denominational commissions and boards. These people are genuinely conversant with the deeper theological and philosophical implications in the present social scene. Some of them know that the trouble lies too deep to be remedied by the patent medicine of so-called free enterprise. But a corresponding generation of laymen,

many of whom were never convinced that the great depression was produced by anything fundamentally wrong, have not been prepared to understand the roots of our dilemma. This hiatus is nullifying Protestantism's effectiveness in social policy.

In spite of the gap between the social-ethical understanding of denominational leaders and that of the rank and file, some strong statements have received endorsement at denominational and inter-denominational assemblies. The makeup of the gatherings is probably the explanation. The clergy is disproportionately represented. The attendance of clergymen in proportion to their total number varies in the several denominations but is always greater than the proportion of laymen. The laymen attending, moreover, are those who are able to leave their jobs without serious financial injury and, since they were held in sufficient esteem to be elected delegates, have presumably had better-than-average educational advantages. They are therefore probably above the median economic and educational level of middle-class Protestants.

DELEGATES of this kind know that major changes have been occurring. A forthright statement on segregation meets no serious resistance except in denominations with large Southern constituencies. Even there the vote is shifting fast. In their most recent gatherings five major denominations heartily endorsed the U. N. Others had done the same thing in previous convocations. Resolutions asking for fair play in labor-management relations take for granted the necessity for labor organizations strong enough to bargain successfully. From such common interests the assemblies fan out into areas of special concern. Among the issues dealt with are condemnation of the producers of hysteria, F. E. P. C., human rights, immigration acts, peace-time military training.

It is one thing for socially informed delegates to commit their denominations on these issues. But do they speak for any considerable number in their home churches? Here is at once one of Protestantism's greatest weaknesses and a sign of potential strength. Seventy-five chairmen of church boards of trustees were interviewed to ascertain the extent of their own and their congregation's fa-

miliarity with the resolutions adopted by their denominations. They were selected on a sampling basis from church lists in one city, Chicago.

When asked concerning their own acquaintance with the major resolutions passed at their denomination's assembly and whether they knew of any effort to inform the congregation about them, only some 10 per cent knew anything about the resolutions and less than 3 per cent knew of any effort to inform the congregation. Possibly much more had actually been done. The significant thing was that so far as they knew 97 per cent of their churches had done nothing about them. In some sections of the country laymen may be better informed about the social concerns of the churches, but the percentages given would probably not be greatly altered by nation-wide samplings.

Why this discrepancy between the excellence of the resolutions prepared by Protestant lay and clerical experts and the interest shown in them by local church members? These more penetrating theological emphases are of comparatively recent origin in industrialized America. There are some denominations, too, which because of social and theological conservatism never participated in the social-gospel movement. Their constituencies are unfamiliar with contemporary social sensitivity. In view of these facts such action as has been taken may represent a significant gain. Nevertheless, there are some obvious explanations for the gap between the quality of many Protestant social pronouncements and the amount of support given them by church members.

SOME OF THE MAJOR barriers to Protestantism's social effectiveness are the following:

1. The nature of Protestantism itself. Use of the Protestant label might lead one to infer a measure of cohesion or uniformity among all included under it. Of course this is not the case. A basic principle in Protestantism is the right to believe and worship according to one's own convictions and inclinations. A premium is placed upon individual freedom. It is really freedom *for* something, but it has often been construed as freedom *from* the claims of the Christian gospel. With so many Protestants failing to understand this, it is

not surprising that they have not united to make the Christian gospel relevant to the times. Separatism has been increased by the differing forms of government. In some denominations action may be taken binding every church and member. In others no one is bound.

2. A preoccupation with individualism. In America, at least, the seed-bed of Protestant thought has been in rural life. A large percentage of church leadership, lay and clerical, is still scarcely more than a generation removed from the strong individualistic emphases of rural churches. Salvation is, of course, personal, but the extent of its social conditioning has not percolated into areas of religious thought. The gospel hymns so popular in most Protestant churches speak not so much of God's glory as of benefits accruing to the individual. The hymn "Won't That Be Glory for Me" has hundreds of popular counterparts.

3. An adequate doctrine of community is only now in the process of formulation. Of course there have been many successful efforts to establish community. Protestantism's history on this continent is saturated with experiments along these lines. But even these were of an exclusive type, the better to facilitate individual salvation. It required an awakening to the full impact of industrial expansion to make people see the limitations of these experiments in exclusiveness and realize that a more inclusive concept was imperative.

The social-gospel movement gave impetus to sociology. The rapid development of sociology as a recognized academic discipline revealed the inter-relatedness of society and the social aspects of what was formerly regarded as merely an individual problem. But the religionists along with the sociologists were slow in recognizing that the concept of community was fundamentally a theological one. The rank and file of church members have not yet grasped its sociological, let alone its deeper theological significance.

4. Business, economics, and technology are the dominant disciplines of the era. Social policy which criticized anything in the underlying philosophy of American business would be rocking the boat or biting the hand that feeds everyone. So long as major inequities

are redressed by pure-food laws or old-age pensions, minor flaws can be allowed to work themselves out. Advocacy of compulsory health insurance by denominational organizations met the full force of the A.M.A.'s campaign against it through doctors in the denomination. The issue was primarily one of business and technical skill, not of morals.

The new sanctities lie in the realm of business. *Fortune's* famous article deploring the fact that the pew only heard itself reflected from the pulpit indicated a slight uneasiness over this situation. The Rockefeller Foundation's willingness to subsidize the extensive study of "The Ethics and Economics of Society," whose results are currently appearing, is another evidence of recent concern with this problem.

5. Protestant clergymen often lack a solid grounding in the more demanding disciplines of religion and the social sciences and thus become unwitting indorsers of the status quo. Business men feel no particular respect for them because they know clergymen lack the philosophical and theological knowledge to confront the confident assumptions of the business community. It must be added, however, that many business men have a deep and well-founded suspicion that there are philosophical and theological insights which challenge some contemporary economic presuppositions. Tragically, there are clergymen who willingly aid the representatives of business in their dubious contentions.

Responsibility for remedying this situation lies largely with the theological seminaries, schools of business, and departments of economics—chiefly with the seminaries. Leadership from this source is rightfully expected. It may be, however, that the effectiveness of Protestant social policy will depend greatly upon the newly emerging recognition among economists that economics too presupposes a value system whose roots run deeper than the mere wants of men.

6. The frightening complexity of our social organizations has undermined our sense of competence to remedy obvious ills. From the frontier and our simpler living came a confidence that evils would give way to sheer determination. Likewise righteousness could be made to triumph. There was a simplicity about

both good and evil—Prohibition was a case in point. Few are now so confident. As a result, there is a tendency to let things work themselves out, or to leave them to "experts." This is in part, one suspects, the reasoning which leads Wisconsin church people to back a morally questionable Senator who can nevertheless simplify the problem of national evil and give the devil a new name—communism.

THE PICTURE is not wholly dark. On the bright side is the increasingly realistic training accorded men and women entering the ministry. But perhaps even more valuable is the growing recognition among laymen that the "priesthood of all believers" is based on their deepening theological and social insights. The great conferences on The Church and Economic Life at Pittsburgh in 1947 and at Detroit in 1950, and the conference on The Christian and His Daily Work at Buffalo in 1952, all conducted by the National Council of Churches, testify to maturing Protestant thinking.

Similarly the conferences of the World Council of Churches, Oxford-Edinburgh, 1937, and Amsterdam, 1948, served to acquaint laymen and ministers alike with developing trends in social-religious thought. Merely to list the activities of denominations as they attempt to extend the breadth and depth of their constituents' thinking along those lines would require many pages. The forces of reaction are gaining vigor. But there is also a widening Protestant group whose members know that the Christian Gospel is more than equal to the circumstances.

The Clergy and the Amendment

We ran into a wise old observer of the world scene the other day. He said he had been reading about J. B. Matthews and the Protestant clergy and had had a dream. He dreamed that he was a clergyman and was called before the McCarthy committee to be questioned.

"Are you a member of the Protestant clergy," McCarthy asked.

"I refuse to answer," our friend replied, "on the grounds that it might incriminate me."—*Madison Capital-Times*.

BOOKS

A Quaker Pilot

FOR MORE THAN BREAD. By Clarence E. Pickett. Little, Brown and Company. \$5.

By Stringfellow Barr

THIS book is a strong, quiet voice speaking in the post-war babel of shrill and violent voices. That it makes itself heard above that babel feels at first like a miracle, until one remembers that the human, the positive, and the intelligible are with difficulty drowned out by the brutal, the negative, and the unintelligible.

"For More Than Bread" is a history of the American Friends Service Committee during the twenty-two years that Clarence Pickett served as its executive secretary. The publisher's effort to persuade the author to make it his own autobiography too was understandable: Clarence Pickett is certainly from the point of view of most informed Americans the leader of the Quaker community in our country, just as the Service Committee he headed is its best-known organ. But except for a brief account of his early life which he places in a preface, Clarence Pickett remains only slightly autobiographical. This is not, I think, due to mock modesty. I get the impression that the work he did for the A. F. S. C. was in his judgment so much more important than his private affairs, that the sea of world-wide strife and misery was so much more important than the A. F. S. C., and that Divine Providence was so much more important than any of them that what the A. F. S. C. did about that misery in the name of that Providence comes as near to an autobiography as a reasonable contemporary could ask him to come.

What the A. F. S. C. did makes a highly dramatic story, and yet Pickett never dramatizes. Where most of us

STRINGFELLOW BARR is president of the Foundation for World Government and author of several books, the most recent being "Citizens of the World," published last year.

would have been tempted to use strong colors to paint this picture, Pickett paints in a gentle Quaker gray; and I never knew before I read this book what a strong color gray could be when used with honesty and compassion.

His novitiate as executive secretary was the textile strike of 1929 in Marion, North Carolina, when the starving strikers were evicted not only from their homes but from their churches, were people in short who needed bread but more than bread, pariahs who needed to be readmitted to the community. The Great Depression deepened, and the A. F. S. C. found itself in 1930 trying to relieve the stark misery in the bituminous coalfields of the southern Appalachians. That led in turn to an interest, backed up by Mrs. Roosevelt, in subsistence homesteads for the unemployed or half-employed miners, and Pickett found himself serving for a while as assistant administrator of the Homestead Act. That led in 1937 to Penn-Craft, another homesteading venture, this time with money supplied by business corporations.

The rise of Hitlerism in Europe, the persecution of the Jews, and finally the Spanish civil war put the activities of Quakers in Europe under forced draft, although American Quakers had worked there ever since devastation and misery had followed World War I. Then came World War II and work to do not only among the children and other refugees of Europe but among the Japanese Americans of the West Coast, whom we had gaily hustled off to camps. And after the war there was more work still to do, in China, Japan, India, Palestine. There was work also with the United Nations and the highly effective Quaker statement "The United States and the Soviet Union: Some Proposals for Peace."

That by no means covers all the activities that Clarence Pickett's book covers. But it gives some idea of the enormous fund of practical experience the A. F. S. C. has acquired, experience

of this tormented post-war world, experience of workable methods that could make it less tormented if we chose to use them. I have spoken of the miracle that a voice as quiet as this book can be so clearly heard; but there is a second miracle in its pages. That is the steady Quaker eye for seeing the half-truths on both sides of the violent controversies that have torn our world within living memory—conflicts between labor and capital, between nation and nation, between race and race, between communism and anti-communism. As a non-Quaker I am driven to ask myself whether any other group in America has seen with an equally steady eye. Obviously the political reactionaries who now control America have not. But neither has the "liberal movement" that opposes that control. Unblinded by hate, undeceived by the transient, too self-effacing to be confused by their successes, and too trusting to be discouraged by their failures, the Quakers have acted with a poise and devotion that have won them not merely the Nobel Peace Prize but extraordinary confidence on the part of their neighbors.

CLARENCE PICKETT is too modest about what the Quakers have achieved to do more than suggest how valuable their experience in the new world community we inhabit could be to the rest of us if we used that experience—even if we used it with less inward wisdom than did those who gained it for us. He is of course being not merely modest but sensible to realize that the A. F. S. C. has been bailing out the ocean of human misery with a thimble. But that is scarcely the point. The A. F. S. C. has attacked the problem with all the means it could lay its hands on. And in the process it has learned a lot about the world we Americans must now live in, a lot that most Americans do not yet know.

Much of the inanity and irrelevance of our post-war foreign policies could have been spared us and spared the rest of the world if we had known. Given the obsolete system of nation states under which our generation still condemns itself to live, it is well-nigh inevitable that some malice should enter into the foreign policy of every national government. But it is not so much malice that has characterized Washington's

policies as ignorance, and the fear that ignorance always breeds.

In an era of mass murder and torture the A. F. S. C. has fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and healed the sick, in our own country and throughout the world, without preachiness or sectarian ambition. In this same era Clarence Pickett speaks with the knowledge of the world that perhaps only that sort of activity can give. In a passionately controversial period he can touch on controversial subjects without passion. He does not evade the heated arguments around him; he tends to transcend them. His knowledge of our world today renders most of those arguments quite irrelevant.

The welfare state? In the West Virginia coalfields he knew that state action would be needed. "Was this the birth of the welfare state in our midst? We didn't stop to philosophize much in this emergency. We felt then, and I still feel, a justness in this growing sense that the chief function of the state should be the welfare of its whole citizenry." In 1938 he found a British Tory government confronting the situation in the coalfields very much as the Roosevelt Administration had confronted it here. "I began to wonder whether our fear of government and private groups working together wasn't a bit doctrinaire. After all, both existed for the public good." Our efforts to re-arm Germany and Japan against the Russians caused him to observe: "Every moment we continue this kind of behavior, the dignity goes out of the human being. Not only does it take away from the Japanese and the German, but in the eyes of much of the world these days we are thought of as a people who have no regard for the dignity of man."

AS LONG AS things are running smoothly it is hard to adapt our institutions to our needs. "In the time of catastrophe, however, public officials, clergy, intellectuals, management and workers in industry often can be drawn together in the common good." Since 1930 the Quakers have been running institutes of international relations all over the country. "The leadership is usually of very high caliber, representing many points of view. Specifically, as freedom of thought and speech seem to be wan-

ing, these institutes sometimes furnish a platform for unpopular prophets, making possible the kind of open discussion in an atmosphere of good-will which in times past was assumed to be one of the marks of our democracy, but which is less and less common in these latter days."

Pickett notes mildly that when we talk about exporting our know-how to less fortunate lands, we often sound boastful. "And it is one of the reasons for the special value that private, voluntary groups can have in helping the United States discharge her share of responsibility to a world that yearns for health, literacy, food, and shelter. It is one of the reasons why the United States needs to learn far better how to use the facilities of the United Nations. For through both of these resources she can diminish the overwhelming sense of power which unilateral governmental efforts often represent to receiving countries."

This last quotation will serve as well as any other to illustrate the worldly wisdom that I believe Quakers have acquired. By obeying the admonition to be as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves, they have managed to learn what our world today is like. Our State Department and our Congress have proved themselves less harmless than doves—the allusion being to the Bible and not to Picasso—and, perhaps inevitably, they have proved themselves startlingly less wise than serpents. Certainly, it would occur to neither to "diminish the overwhelming sense of power" which a unilateral Point Four has given or really to "use the facilities of the United Nations" in a joint war by all mankind on poverty and misery.

But Clarence Pickett is completely aware that what the Service Committee has done has not only saved thousands of human lives but furnished a pilot plant for what mankind could do. He is a wise pilot.

New Books in Brief

Tensions in India

IN THE MINDS OF MEN. The Study of Human Behavior and Social Tensions in India. By Gardner Murphy. Basic Books. \$4.50.

In the summer of 1950 Dr. Gardner Murphy, the distinguished social psychologist who is now Director of Research in the Menninger Foundation, at the invitation of UNESCO on the request of the government of India, went to that country as a consultant on the problem of social tensions. It was a fact-finding not a therapeutic assignment, and the main part of the mission was to organize six research teams composed of Indians which were to investigate the cause and character of various types of tension. The chief was that rising from Hindu-Moslem hostility, a problem of major importance to the government of India, for it had been a source of mounting strife throughout the history of the country in 1947, and was continuing to create critical internal situations. Another was intercaste conflict, especially in southern India, where anti-Brahmanism was the dominant factor

in local politics. One steadily growing in importance was caused by industrialization. Another, of recent origin but great magnitude, came from the presence in India of millions of refugees from Pakistan, who needed support, work, and human kindness but were a heavy burden on an overstrained economy.

Dr. Murphy considers the effect of economic and social change in relieving and creating tensions, comments on the role of prejudice, analyzes the various resources available in the country for solving the problems created by tensions, points to the kind of outside aid which India would find welcome, and finally indicates the share which the United States might have in providing such aid.

"Time of Troubles"

THE FUTURE OF THE WEST. By J. G. de Beus. Harper. \$2.75.

This book suffers from a lack of proportion. Almost half of its 176 pages are really an introduction taking the form of a critical description of the theories of Spengler, Toynbee, and their little-known Russian precursor, Nikolai Danilevsky. Is the cyclical concept of

history developed by these pathologists of civilization a valid one? the author asks himself. After a good deal of hemming and hawing, he answers "yes." In his second section Dr. de Beus considers what stage of development Western civilization has reached and concludes that we are in "the time of troubles" that precedes the Toynbeeian "universal state." That leaves him only some thirty pages to answer the really decisive question: Are the creative forces of the West still vital enough to meet such challenges as European disunity, Asiatic and African nationalism, and the demand of the "internal proletariat" for a fuller life? Dr. de Beus, a Dutch diplomat, believes that they are, but the evidence he offers in support is too cursory to be very persuasive.

Arctic Life Histories

ICEBOUND SUMMER. By Sally Carrighar. Illustrations by Henry B. Kane. Knopf. \$3.95.

The first new book in six years by a nature writer with a manner and style of her own. At least three of the years were spent in Alaska just south of the Arctic Circle, where the earth never thaws except at the surface, where plants may rush from seed to fruit in two weeks, but where, nevertheless, life can flourish

so abundantly that the lemmings provide the most famous and spectacular of all lessons in the consequences of overpopulation. As in her previous books Miss Carrighar says nothing of her own adventures, never uses the pronoun "I," and rarely permits a human being to intrude upon her scene. Instead, she gives eleven dramatized biographies of birds and beasts, including, besides the lemming, a Foolish Fox and a golden plover making its first migration to the Hawaiian Islands. Some readers may be reminded of the Ernest Seton Thompson of their youth, but Miss Carrighar is more cautious about laying herself open to the charge of over-humanizing her heroes. What is nowadays more remarkable, she is equally careful not to suggest that they are mere machines. Each sketch is sensitive and sympathetic without being in the least sentimental.

In the Brontë Vein

THE HOUSE OF MOREYS. By Phyllis Bentley. Macmillan. \$3.50.

A complicated and melodramatic Yorkshire tale in the vein of the Brontës, told rather well. Miss Bentley knows both the background of textiles and the patterns of Yorkshire life; but one is never quite sure that she understands her own plot. Or that it matters,

since through the heroine's integrity, strength, and nobility of character the curse on her family is bound to be expiated in the course of a series of attempted murders, rapes, and poisonings. Miss Bentley has been known for her solid and rather pedestrian novels; it is amusing to find her trying her hand at this kind of thing and, if you don't pay too much attention to the story, getting away with it. This is the sort of novel that sounds a lot worse than it is.

Nicolson's George V

KING GEORGE THE FIFTH. By Harold Nicolson. Doubleday. \$7.50.

The powers that be were wise in choosing a distinguished and independent historian as official biographer of the late George V. Yet even Mr. Nicolson suffers from the constraints self-imposed on any patriotic Englishman writing about a recent king, and at times lapses into pomposities that will sadden admirers of his wittily irreverent "Curzon" and "Some People."

King George, a man of conservative instincts and moderate intellectual attainments, was as conscientious an occupant of the throne as Britain has ever had. In the midst of bitter political battles, he sought to make the Crown "an emollient," and more than once, notably during the general strike of 1926, we find him using his right "to advise and warn" to restrain the government of the day from provocative action. Twice during his reign, in 1911 and 1931, he found himself in constitutional "zones of uncertainty" where he could not avoid steps that subjected him to partisan criticism. This book convinces us that, on both occasions, he acted in accordance with the spirit of the constitution. Unhappily, in describing the second of these crises, which culminated in the formation of the National Government, Mr. Nicholson himself descends to a partisan defense of Ramsay MacDonald—a blot on an otherwise objective work.

Teacher of Slaves

THE JOURNAL OF CHARLOTTE L. FORTEN. Edited by Ray Allen Billington. Dryden. \$5.

This diary of a Negro girl kept for ten years just before and during the Civil War covers her education in Salem, Massachusetts, and her experiences as a

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

MILITARY RATE IS AVAILABLE ONLY WHEN MAGAZINE IS SENT TO A MILITARY ADDRESS

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

8/1/53

teacher there and on the sea islands of South Carolina, where she taught the slaves liberated by the Union armies. While the style is stilted and the entries, for the most part, commonplace, the journal has interest for its glimpses of Abolitionist leaders and for its picture of life in America from 1854 to 1864 as seen by a sensitive colored girl.

Greco at the Stadium

THE performance of Jose Greco and his company at the Lewisohn Stadium on July 22 triumphed over a number of sizable obstacles. The first is the stadium itself. This vast arena is plainly unsuitable for a program of dances—performed by a small ensemble—which by their nature should be seen close at hand and more or less on a level. Even the stage should be smaller and less bare; several of the numbers badly needed a setting in the mood of the costumes, music, and the dance itself. To add to these problems, the conductor for the evening, Miguel Sandoval, had that day suffered a severe heart attack. As a result the program was somewhat disordered, although the company's piano soloist, Roger Machado, and

Arthur Schuller, a second violinist in the Stadium orchestra, took turns conducting.

In spite of all this, the performance was full of fire, eloquence, and humor, and the audience was obviously well pleased. To those close enough to see them, the infinitely subtle shadings of gesture and line, and the precision of motion, contributed an important part of the evening's pleasure. Greco moves easily from the fluid grace of the classical bolero to the gipsy's arrogant and staccato power and the naive gaiety and bounce of the country dance. One of the most striking numbers combined several styles. Originally created by the late Argentinita and performed to Ravel's "Bolero," it began in a mood of light charm, Greco and Lola de Ronda dancing with cool and sinuous elegance; then shifting as other dancers took over the stage to more and more fiery, dramatic techniques until it ended in a blaze of gipsy passion. Somewhat a tour de force, it was immensely effective. The company included, besides Mr. Greco and Miss de Ronda, a talented flamenco singer, Chinin de Triana, Julio Torres, Malena Vargas, and Angel Soler.

F. K.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

FROM the Land of the Bible," a large and important exhibition on view at the Metropolitan Museum in New York through October 12, involved a major enterprise of study, selection, hauling, and installation in which all concerned may take pride. It was brought to the United States by the American Fund for Israel Institutions, and will later be sent on a tour of our major museums.

It is not easy to review an exhibition which covers more than 50,000 years of the history of man as artist and craftsman. A few statistics may set the problem and at the same time indicate the prodigiousness of the task which faced those who brought these hundreds of things from Israel, the majority of them never before shown in the Western Hemisphere. Size runs from a seven-ton

seated statue of a Roman emperor, magnificently grave in porphyry even without its original white marble head, hands, and feet, to the smallest gems and seals, some of them blown up in adjacent photographs to reveal the power of their design. Here Malraux's point, in "The Museum Without Walls," about the photograph's destruction of limits of size comes to mind. In fact, the range of the exhibition over successive cultures and a huge array of techniques demolishes the walls of the Metropolitan. This is partly due to the methods of display. Corrugated cardboard lining the walls to about half their height at once gives them texture and makes them retreat, while the exhibition cases are unified by a contrasting color that changes from gallery to gallery, so that one senses each space as

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB

presents
as its August selection

REPORT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

by Basil Davidson

The importance of Africa today and the events that are unfolding there make this extraordinary book indispensable to every mature person.

Enroll today in America's most progressive book club and begin your reading pleasure with **REPORT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.**

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB

1123 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.

Kindly send me a copy of **REPORT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA**, together with my **FREE** book on joining the club. I enclose \$2.25 (plus 25¢ for postage and handling) for this book. I agree to accept at least four selections a year at the special member price of only \$1.64.

Current Selection

- ☐ **REPORT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA**
by Basil Davidson

Free Books

- ☐ **THE SCALPEL, THE SWORD**
by Ted Allen, Sydney Gordon
- ☐ **COOLIE**
by Mulk Raj Anand
- ☐ **GIANT IN CHAINS**
by Barrows Dunham
- ☐ **BEL AMI**
by Guy de Maupassant
- ☐ **DAUGHTERS AND SONS**
by Kung Chueh, Yuan Ching
- ☐ **THE INSPECTOR OF RUINS**
by Elsa Triolet

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

a whole before plunging into a multitude of detail.

Without attempting to report on the wealth of primarily archaeological material here to be seen, or on the many items with powerful Biblical association, like a sling shot of the type used by David and the sharpened flat jawbone of an ass, commonly used as a sickle but turned by Samson against the Philistines, I will record some random impressions. The first room displays maps, primarily of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and these with their unexpected perspectives, coordinates, and nomenclature—for example, John Speed's map of the Middle Land

Sea, London 1626—challenge one's basic Rand-McNally prejudices. In the third room, a small bronze figure of a standing god seems remarkably prophetic of the work of Giacometti. In its warped and rounded shapes in hardest basalt the portrait of an official, from about the fourth century A.D., suggests the force and sculptural economy of Ben-Shmuel.

Both in mosaic and in stone sculpture the war between Western (Roman) and Eastern conventions is superbly illustrated. Sculptures of the sixth century are fully Byzantine in flavor, and some of the pieces on display must rank high as examples even though they are so far removed from the court of Justinian. Among these is one of a series of perfectly preserved Romanesque capitals, the work of an artist-crusader ap-

parently trained in Burgundy but already affected by local conventions of hollow-cheeked faces and complex interlaces of curving drapery lines. The whole problem of cultural orientation is brought into focus by the juxtaposition of two small heads of youths—a marble Roman copy of a fourth-century Greek model and a limestone portrait from around the time of Christ with the staring, brooding eyes and the sharply linear accents of the art of Palmyra.

Some account of modern Israel is given by a large assortment of the work of seven painters, of whom Moshe Castel is perhaps the most daring and Mordecai Ardon the most profound. A smaller selection of works by these artists could have made them all seem stronger. Castel appears to have had three separate styles during the past year and a half, one of which could be described as the art of Bradley Walker Tomlin without his texture or deep space jazzed up into hot tonal harmonies.

One enters this exhibition through the special Rembrandt show that has been

on view for a long time and will remain, presumably, until current alterations of the main galleries are completed. To see so many fine Rembrandts together is an opportunity not to be missed, and there are some surprises too—the late portrait of the painter Gérard de Lairesse, on loan from the Robert Lehman collection, and the effect that cleaning has had on some of the Metropolitan's finest. One may study with profit the now revealed cool harmonies, gray and blue-green, of the early Bellona (1633) in contrast to the rich plums, russets, and violet browns of the self-portrait of 1660.

On the ground floor Aphrodite has been extricated from her erstwhile spotlights and mirrors. She is now visible in a severely gray room lighted by tall side windows. Perhaps the trick setting in which she was first introduced paid off in public interest, but the educational damage will now be counteracted. One can see her today as sculpture among other works of classical sculpture; and this piece is very subtle sculpture indeed.

"This is a book-burning. . . !"

For a LIFT and to Fight McCARTHYISM
Own and Play

MANDEL vs. McCARTHY

actual recording of the sensational
televised hearing

NOW 37-minute LP . . . \$2.00

FREEDOM DISCS

Box 182, Audubon Station, New York 32

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
New Musical Comedy
Me AND Juliet
with ISABEL BILL JOAN
BIGLEY HAYES McCracken
RAY MARK JACKIE
WALSTON DAWSON KELK
Air-Cond. MAJESTIC THEATRE, W. 44 St.
Eves. at 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:30

R & H
in
YUL BRYNNER
in
RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
The King and I
A Musical Play
with CONSTANCE CARPENTER
Air-Cond. ST. JAMES THEATRE, W. 44 St.
Evenings at 8:25: \$7.20 to 1.80. Matinees
Wednesday & Saturday at 2:25: \$4.20 to 1.80.

**Before You Go On Vacation
Get The Books You Want
Through The Nation**

For the convenience of its readers, *The Nation* maintains a special book-buying service. You can get any book you wish at the regular retail price post-free if your payment accompanies the order; on C.O.D.'s postage is included. When ordering, please give name, author and publisher if possible. (No C.O.D.'s outside the United States.)

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N. Y.

Records

B. H. Haggin

MY INTENTIONS to investigate less expensive reproducing equipment than the best have been defeated by the pressure of other work for this column. But someone whose ears I have found dependable, and whose own equipment is first-class, has told me of a friend's modest set-up that he finds surprisingly good every time he hears it. The components are a Sun Radio CR-10-Q amplifier supplemented with a G.E. equalizer, a Garrard record changer equipped with G.E. cartridges with diamond styli, and an Altec-Lansing 600-B speaker in an Electro-Voice Aristocrat enclosure (the amplifier and changer are on a table); and their cost comes to approximately \$280. An infinite-baffle (not bass-reflex) type of box with an interior space of about 8 cubic feet will reduce the cost of the speaker enclosure; and I recommend a Garrard manual assembly instead of the changer to save not only the \$15 but the records.

A record changer is unnecessary with LP record sides that play twenty-five minutes; and it is made useless by the necessity of removing the dust (with a damp cloth) from each side before it is played, to prevent the damage that dust can do to the grooves. Even if one gets a changer for 78s, I recommend changing LPs manually.

As for an even less expensive set-up, my friend tells me the Grommes 50PG sounded good to him; one engineer recommends the Permoflux Royal "8" speaker, another the slightly more expensive University Diffusicon "8"; and the Garrard manual assembly and G.E. cartridges with diamond styli bring the cost to approximately \$130 or \$135, to which must be added the cost of a box with an interior space of about 4½ cubic feet for the speaker.

Harold D. Weiler's "High Fidelity Simplified" (Rider, \$2.50)—which I don't always find simple enough for a

mind that has as much difficulty with physics as mine—explains the basis, purpose, operation, and desirable and undesirable characteristics of the components of a high-fidelity reproducing system, to make it possible for the reader to decide which components to acquire. It is good for everyone to know the things this book explains; but I don't think most readers are able to use the knowledge to select an amplifier or speaker from a catalogue or in a store; and to have practical value a book of this kind should give, in addition to the explanations and information, the author's choices of components in various price categories. Weiler does mention a few components which he evidently considers good; but the amplifiers, speaker systems, and motor-and-turntable assembly he mentions are all high-priced; and though it is clear that he rates the Fairchild cartridge highest, his statement about the others—that "any of these fine pickups leaves little to be desired"—itself leaves a great deal to be desired as practical guidance.

Weiler isn't always simple; but at least he doesn't write in the heart-to-heart-chatty style and tone of Edward T. Canby's "Home Music Systems" (Harper, \$3.95). What is weird in addition is the reasoning with which Canby repeatedly argues against the best components and for the cheapest. Against the best on the grounds that the superiority of the sound is something which only an engineer or high-fidelity hobbyist would appreciate or insist on, but which the music-loving reader of this book may not even appreciate and can do without; for the cheapest on the grounds that if it isn't as good as the best it is better than the standard radio-phonograph in most homes, and is all that a person wants who cares about music rather than phonographs—whose musical intelligence and experience enable him to listen "right through" the phonograph to the music, supplying in his mind what the inexpensive equipment doesn't produce in the actual sound. I would suppose most readers without an appreciation of the better sound would want to acquire it, and that most music-lovers would prefer hearing it to imagining it; and the music-lovers I have encountered have wanted the best sound even when they have to settle for what they could afford.

Many years ago I acquired the original-text editions of Beethoven and Mozart piano sonatas; but at that time the other original texts of works of Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, and Bach that I would have liked to own were to be had only in the expensive collected editions. Now, however, the Lea pocket scores have made available photographic reproductions of these editions not only of the Beethoven and Mozart piano sonatas I already had, but of the Beethoven and Mozart sonatas for piano and violin, the Beethoven sonatas for

piano and cello and variations for piano, the Schubert piano works and songs, the Bach organ works and Goldberg variations that I wanted. Concerning the Lea volumes I can report that the notes for piano, voice, and organ on the reduced-size pages are large enough to read with ease, but the smaller ones for violin and cello in the sonatas are uncomfortably small. As for the texts, even these editions have their mistakes; but at least one is spared the phrasing and other markings added by virtuosos and other editors.

Letters

Witness to the Times

Dear Sirs: The day it was made known that Tom McGrath, who has taught a class in creative writing at State College in Los Angeles for the last three and a half years, would not be rehired, 215 students signed a protest requesting the administration to reconsider its decision. Two weeks later, and while the decision was pending, McGrath received a subpoena to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee. It may be a coincidence, but many of us here feel that the administration signaled the committee for help because it was determined to drop McGrath.

Apparently the students feel the same way about it. One group raised \$100 for McGrath's counsel fee—he refused to testify before the committee—and another group got together and selected, edited, and published a mimeographed edition of his poems under the title "Witness to the Times." Your readers can obtain copies by sending 50 cents to: "Witness to the Times," 847 North Edgemont, Los Angeles 29, California.

JENNELDE C. MCCARONY

Los Angeles

Descendants of Sophists

Dear Sirs: The authors of *Does Silence Mean Guilt?* in *The Nation* of June 6 must be true descendants of the Sophists. Under their clever handling the concealment of truth is glorified and dishonesty placed upon a high moral plane.

The cause of freedom, including academic freedom, is not advanced by concealing truth, as your authors advocate.

It is better served by speaking the truth courageously. And criticism of Senator McCarthy, even when justified, does not excuse an honorable man's departure from truth. The picture of a man who professes to be interested in truth, yet who refuses to speak it, is far from heroic.

Furthermore, the legal advice offered by your authors—that one should invoke the privilege against self-incrimination even in circumstances where no self-incrimination is possible—is pure intellectual dishonesty. The privilege against self-incrimination is a great bulwark against police brutality, and its use is often legally proper in legislative hearings. However, in one respect it is like our laws regarding bankruptcy—no one deserves a pat on the back for taking advantage of it.

DOUGLAS F. STEVENSON,
Chairman of the Civil Rights Committee
of the Chicago Bar Association
Park Forest, Ill.

The "Candor" Enthusiasts

Dear Sirs: Not even the Sophists would so facilely confuse a right to remain silent with "dishonesty" and "departure from truth." Like all "candor" enthusiasts, Mr. Stevenson builds his arguments on the premise that the witness is under an obligation to answer, though the Constitution says he isn't.

Our article did not suggest that a witness should claim the privilege when self-incrimination is impossible. It pointed out that self-incrimination is always involved when the witness is asked to inform on others, since his knowledge of others' activities and

PUBLICATIONS

IMPORTED

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

GALINA NIKOLAYEVA

HARVEST

Intensely absorbing novel. A Cross-Section of everyday life of the Soviet People.

Prize-Winning Award 1950
In English — 622 pp. — \$1.75

ANTONINA KOPTIAYEVA

IVAN IVANOVICH

Highest Prize Award, 1949. Fascinating novel of a surgeon and his young wife involving a conflict in family relations and devotion to service in the community. Action takes place in Yakutia in the Far North.

In English — 548 pp. — \$1.50

New Shipment of Latest Soviet Recordings

We ship to all parts of the U. S.,

South America and Canada

1953-54 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalog E-53

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 St. N. Y. 16 Murray Hill 8-2660

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

ACRES OF CARPETS

40-80% SAVINGS ON BROADLOOM CARPETS at our New York warehouse. We feature the most famous brands—imported and domestic. We also feature thousands of short roll sections—8 to 100 sq. yds. ea., 18, 15, 12, & 9 ft. seamless widths. Most everything perfect—some irregulars. RUGCRAFT CARPET WAREHOUSE, 123 West 64 Street, New York. Open daily 9-6; June, July and August, Thursday evening and Saturday by appointment only. Free Parking. Telephone: TRafalgar 3-7069.

PERSONALS

BRITISH CROSSWORDS

Fifty brand-new, never-before-published "British" puzzles all under one cover, with answers and a 1000-word preface. Stimulative, relaxing, fun to solve. First printing. \$1.25. (Outside of continental U. S. A., \$2.00.)

R. A. CARLSON, Box 118, Washington, D. C.

FAMOUS MAKE STEAM-DRY IRON—

Fully Automatic. Regularly \$19.95, SPECIAL \$12.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Ave. (13th & 14th Sts.) N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 30-Minute Free Parking.

EXPERIENCED LEGAL SECRETARY

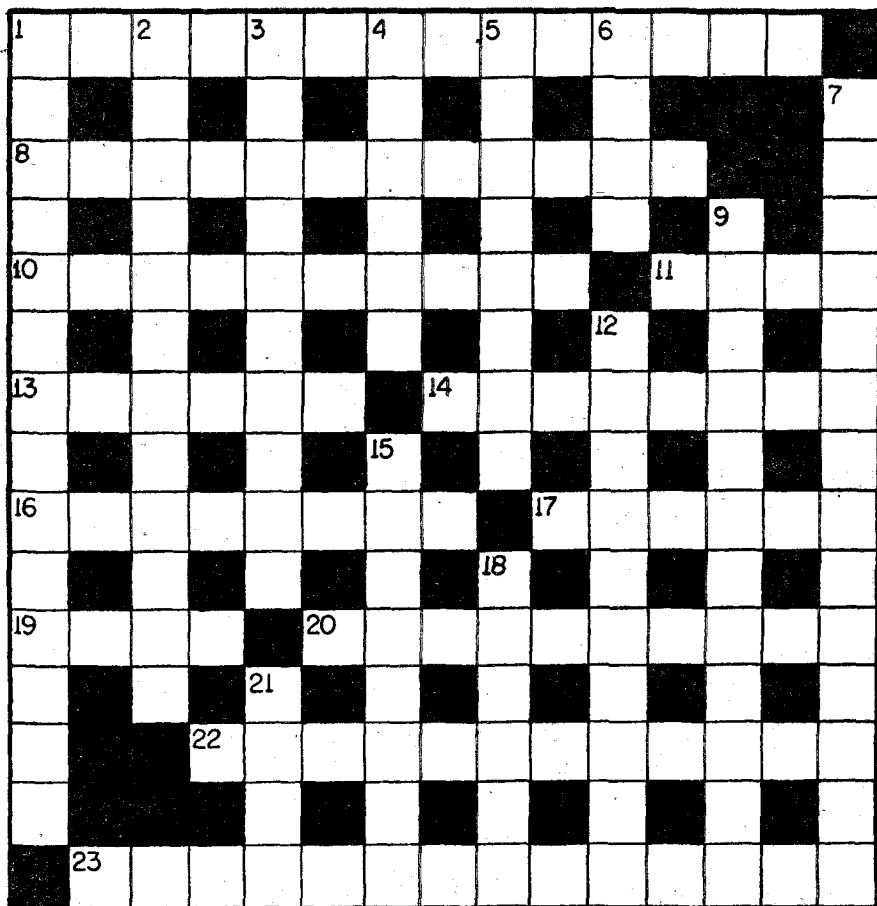
seeks job in New York September 21. B.A. in Political Science, attending N. Y. U. Night Law School. Box 361, c/o The Nation.

NEED A VACATION?

Then let our RESORT columns on the opposite page solve your problems. And, by the way do mention *The Nation* when making your reservation.

Crossword Puzzle No. 526

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 An officer pauses between A and B, and A and D, but not between A and C. (5, 9)
- 8 An odd sort o' name for boasts. (12)
- 10 A pleasant prospect for the one who carries the ball in Pennsylvania. (10)
- 11 See 2 down.
- 13 Equivalent to targets in the garden. (6)
- 14 The sort of union which is about to finish an intimation. (8)
- 16 Mishearings? (8)
- 17 Take off, whip it, and be victorious. (4, 2)
- 19 Rank of one who neither wins nor loses? (4)
- 20 Cleaning establishment which makes your motor clean, as well? (5, 5)
- 22 Crossing the bar? (4-8)
- 23 No sinister turn, but a sailor traveling west should have a little? (4, 2, 3, 5)

- 3 "The gaudy, blabbing, and _____ day
Is crept into the bosom of the sea."
(Henry VI) (10)
- 4 Sister joins the union! (6)
- 5 Some things would be illegal without such an act. (8)
- 6 and 15. Theotocopouli's famous vista wasn't of Ohio. (4, 2, 6)
- 7 Implying a possible reflection of fish? (4, 3, 7)
- 9 Should this be the rage in summer theater? (12)
- 12 Such a condition could imply a hectic situation. (10)
- 15 See 6 down.
- 18 Fix, at least temporarily. (6)
- 21 Gloomy. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 526

ACROSS:—1 BARREL ROLL; 11 THEATER; 12 ABDULLAH; 13 GOOSE; 15 TOTAL; 17 REINHARDT; 19 TIMEPIECE; 21 GUSTO; 23 and 10 SOUND BARRIER; 27 IDENTIC; 29 SASH; 30 BRASS RINGS.

DOWN:—1 and 28 BABY SITTERS; 3 RAREBIT; 3 and 6 ELIHU ROOT; 4 and 24 RURAL FREE DELIVERY; 5 LATCH; 7 OUTPOUR; 8 TURKEY TROT; 9 HEDGEHOG; 14 STATISTICS; 16 LAPIDATE; 18 IDEALISTS; 20 MOUSERS; 22 SURGEON; 24 DICER; 25 VOTER; 26 ISIS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

**ALL-SUMMER
TENNIS JAMBOREE**

SUPERB ENTERTAINMENT • POOL
DANCING • CRAFTS • FINE FOOD

FREE
Week-End
Winner
WEEKLY

A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS
CHESTERS FOR ADULTS

WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
New York Office: Phone MUrray Hill 3-2979

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Neat enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

SHADOWOOD INN

THE ROSENBERGS

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| Lenox, Mass. | Phone: 8014 |
| • Informal | • Good Food |
| • Sports | • Tanglewood |
| • Jacobs Pillow | • Theatre |
| • Berkshires | • Low Rates |



2-DAY WEEKENDS—\$16 per person
FRIDAY TO SUNDAY

Special Group Rates on Request
Entertainment and Dancing Nightly to Unity Band
Boating, Swimming, All Sports

\$40 & \$43 WEEKLY (no tipping)

includes everything

For information and reservations, write to
1 Union Square, Room 610, N. Y. 3; AL 5-6960-6961

ART

INSTITUTO ALLENDE . . . Arts, crafts, Spanish, history, field trips this fall and winter in Mexico's most beautiful colonial town. Amazingly inexpensive. For an illustrated prospectus of a unique vacation with study: Instituto Allende, Box 3, San Miguel Allende, Guanajuato, Mexico.

Attention Please!

Train Leaving on Track 31 for

Are they calling out the location of your resort?

Those vacationers are heading for rest and fun.

Do they know what good times they can have at your place?

Tell them about it through the resort advertising pages.

\$7.42 per inch, per insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today for further information

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

333 SIXTH AVE., NEW YORK 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

affiliations could be a link in the chain of evidence against him in a conspiracy prosecution.

Long before the privilege became a bulwark against police brutality, it was a bulwark to freedom of thought against inquisitorial attacks.

The path of self-interest for a witness is to turn witch-burner himself in the hope that his past heresies may be forgiven. Those who choose to defend freedom of thought with the best legal weapons available to them, despite the social and economic penalties with which they are threatened, seem to me to rate a pat on the back.

LAURENT B. FRANTZ

Des Moines, Iowa

Postal Censorship

Dear Sirs: We wish to call the attention of your readers to a particularly flagrant act of government censorship. In April, 1953, the solicitor of the United States Post Office Department suppressed the April issue of *Vet's Voice*, a monthly veterans' newsletter, as non-mailable. After a hearing in Washington, the solicitor, having served as accuser, judge, and jury, decided to continue the suppression.

We regard this action as part of a widening pattern of restrictions imposed by the McCarthyites on the thoughts and opinions of all Americans.

Consider the arbitrary and catch-all nature of the grounds for the suppression. The Post Office Department found the "general tenor" of *Vet's Voice* objectionable. It became quite clear at the hearing that the real issue was the right of our publication to set its own policies and represent the views of its readers and peace-minded veterans in general. The "general tenor" of our April issue was the need for peace. The prime question of our time is peace. The right to talk and write freely about peaceful alternatives to war must be assured to everyone.

Vet's Voice has appealed to the Postmaster General to rescind the action. We are determined to carry the fight for reversal to the courts.

Aware of the inspiring work done by *The Nation* to alert its readers to the menace of McCarthyism and confronted as we are with a clear case of McCarthyism in the Post Office, we are asking your readers to write to the Postmaster General in Washington, demanding the immediate release of our April issue.

PAUL HARTMAN,
Editor, *Vet's Voice*

Forest Hills, N. Y.

RESORTS



ADIRONDACK HEAVEN

- LES PINE
- MARTHA SCHLAMME
- LEON BIBB plus Many more
- Folk & Square Dancing, orchestra, cocktail lounge, curio shop
- 9 Tennis Courts, fishing, riding, bicycling, etc.
- All water sports on 60-acre private Crystal Lake

CRYSTAL LAKE LODGE

CHESTERTOWN, NEW YORK
Phone: 3830 N. Y. Phone: TU 2-0477

MERRIEWOODE

FOR ADULTS

- HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.
- Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation • Enjoy beautiful 10-mile Lake • All Land and Water Sports, featuring Water-Skiing and Excellent Tennis • Arts & Crafts, Square & Folk Dancing Instruction • Planned Evening Entertainment • Congenial Crowd • Non-Sectarian
- OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
- Send for Picture Folder N
- Phone: Hancock 98 Ring 13

Echo Lake Lodge

In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A Delightful Adult Vacation Resort

- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Vacancies from Aug. 3—low Sept. rates
- Delicious meals
- Summer Theatre: Ethan Allen Players

Write Diana & Abe Berman, Brandon, Vt.

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, records, sports, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.

Season and Holidays: \$50.00 weekly; \$7.50 daily
After Labor Day: \$45.00 weekly; \$7.00 daily

65 Miles from New York City
JANE C. ARENZ R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2



Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate—Limited to 90—Pollen Free
Folk-Sq. Dances—Concert Trio—Dance Band
All Sports • Fishing • Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE—FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th • Circle 6-6386
Louis A. Roth, Dir.

PICTURESQUE HIDEAWAY on 200-acre estate, private lake, virgin woods, waterfalls, swimming, boating, fishing. Near golf and summer theatre. Delicious food. Informal atmosphere. Rooms with private bath. Small group.

Also 4-room apartment, charmingly furnished, facing waterfalls and 1-room cabin with fireplace and screened porch on an island in our lake. Complete housekeeping facilities.

LAKE LOUANNE, Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Conn. Phone: CLinton 6-2465.

FESTIVAL HOUSE at Lenox, Mass. Reservations now at reduced rates for August 16 on. See our excellent summer theatre, staged by Drama Lab. Phone Lenox 367W.

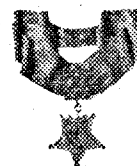
THE PINES. Modern year-round place for relaxation, in heart of Blue Mountains of Penn. Dutch country. Jewish-American cuisine. 90 miles from N. Y. C. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1, Pa. Tel: BATH 6501.





He Was the Last Man

*Pfc. Hector A. Cafferata Jr.,
USMCR
Medal of Honor*



IT WAS DURING the Chosin reservoir fighting. Against F Company's hill position, Reds were attacking in regimental strength. The last of Private Cafferata's fire team-mates had just become a casualty, leaving a gap in the defense line. If the enemy could exploit it, they could smash the entire perimeter.

Exposing himself to devastating fire, Private Cafferata maneuvered along the line. Alone, he killed fifteen Chinese, routed the rest, and held till reinforcements plugged the hole.

The Reds hit again. A grenade fell into a gully full of wounded. Private Cafferata hurled it back, saving the men but suffering severe wounds. Ignoring intense pain, he still fought on until a sniper got him.

"If we really want to protect ourselves from the Commies," says Private Cafferata, now retired because of wounds, "we've got to go all out. And one thing all of us at home can do—*should do*—is invest in our country's Defense Bonds. Sure, Bonds are our personal savings for a rainy day. But they're more—they're muscle behind our G.I.s' bayonets, too!"

★ ★ ★

Now E Bonds pay 3%! Now, improved Series E Bonds start paying interest after 6 months. And average 3% interest, compounded semiannually when held to maturity. Also, all maturing E Bonds automatically go on earning—at the new rate—for 10 more years. Today, start investing in Series E Bonds through the Payroll Savings Plan; you can sign up to save as little as \$2.00 a payday if you wish.

Peace is for the strong! For peace and prosperity save with U. S. Defense Bonds!

The U. S. Government does not pay for this advertisement. It is donated by this publication in cooperation with the Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America.

